FELLOWSHIP

May 1946 Vol. XII—No. 5

One Way and Only One

By GENERAL DOUGLAS MacARTHUR

Famine Threatens the Peace

By GLENN EVERETT

Witness in Czechoslovakia

By ROBERT ROOT

Prison Is Revenge

By CALEB FOOTE

Portrait of a "Great-Soul"

By KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

A War-lord's Prayer

Our Atom which art in heaven, blessed be thy name!
Thy kingdom come, thy work be done
On earth, as it is in Washington.
Give us today our sense of security!
Lead us not into aggression, and tempt us not to atrocity;
But deliver us from evil, and forgive us our blunders,
As we do not forgive those who blunder against us.
For thine is the power, and the kingdom, and the glory,
And the assurance of peace for perhaps a decade.
And then? . . . Amen!

—Brent Dow Allinson.

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

If we have got to go to war—and that seems to be the mind of Washington, in spite of the atomic bomb—then I think we ought to fight under conditions which will make *everybody* in this country realize that we are at war. As things are now, war is a pleasant and immensely profitable experience for millions of our people. I would make it as unpleasant and costly an experience as it is possible for human ingenuity to devise. What the conscript sacrifices and suffers at the front, I would make all of our citizens in some measure sacrifice and suffer at home. Let war be hell for us all. For example:

(1) When we go to war, let all business, large and small alike, be taken over by the government. Keep the executive in his office, the manager on his factory floor, the tradesman behind his counter, but let the government take all the profits. At present, war is a time of unprecedented prosperity. Business gathers in and distributes enormous gains. Owners, officers, stockholders, roll in wealth and wallow in luxury. The longer the war lasts, the richer they become. Which means that, to the money-maker, war is a highly desirable state of affairs! I would stop this upon the instant. No profits of any kind, no income to any private pocket, until the war is over!

(2) When we go to war, let labor be conscripted, as well as the soldiery, and held to work at the lowest possible subsistence level. I know that conscription is slavery and that's the reason I hate it and am opposed to it. But if we are going to have conscription, let us have it on a universal scale. Why should one young man be seized and forced into the army, to undergo the rigors of military training and the perils of the battlefield, and another young man be bribed by high wages and short hours to work in a war industry, or perhaps left to farm or trade at his own sweet pleasure? As things are now, war is pretty good for labor. The wage envelope is fat, the union treasury is overflowing, conditions are of the "featherbed" variety, and all is well. Indeed, the worker has but one worry in wartime, and that is that peace will come again. If the war could only go on forever, how ideal it would be. But sooner or later it must stop, and boom times will be no more. Which is as ridiculous as it is horrible! I would end all this at a single stroke by passage of a law to conscript all able-bodied men and women for service on either the fighting or the home front at the moment war is declared. And wages would be approximately the same at both places. On the lowest basis consistent with health and efficiency!

(3) When we go to war, let wealth be conscripted along with men. At present we make of war an attractive and profitable investment. At intervals of half a year, while the war goes on, the government conducts bond sales, at which the people are invited not to give but to lend their money in support of the fighting. Great stress is laid on the charming fact that nobody loses anything in these transactions. On the contrary, every bond buyer is making something—interest on his loan, and an ultimate return of the expanded principal. Fine! This war business is great stuff—better than mortgages, or copper mines, or railroads. So step right up, ladies and gentlemen, and invest your savings in the war!

But I would have it otherwise. A financial drive twice a year—Oh, yes! But this drive would take the form of an expropriation of money, not an investment! At regular intervals and as long as the war lasts, I would have the government, take, say, five per cent of everybody's capital as held in bank deposits, stocks and bonds, insurance principals or other forms. And when I say take I mean *take!* Not a loan to the state, but a gift, a tax, a seizure! The money never to come back, but to be used in the war—burned up along with gasoline, ammunition, and the great masses of materiel which constitute the wanton wastage of armed conflict between the nations! Thus as the war goes on, our capital and savings will diminish, and, in the case of a prolonged war, be devoured altogether. War, under these conditions, will not be so funny—nor so profitable. Not a few of us only, but all of us, will be ruined. Why have any wars at such a cost?

(4) Then something should be done to the officers of government who take us into war. Thus a president who urges war, or practices war policies, especially when at the same time he promises not to send our boys across the seas, should be automatically subjected to impeachment. Representatives and senators voting for a war resolution should immediately and without exception be inducted into the armed services of the nation. Clergymen advocating and supporting war should be sent to the front as chaplains. Colleges and universities should be closed for the duration, and their faculties placed on public relief, to save these honorable institutions from the disgrace of being turned, willingly or unwillingly, into military academies. As for newspapers and magazines, I would use the power of censorship which always accompanies war (in open violation of the Bill of Rights!) to end war, and speed the day of peace. The war fever would abate fast under the cold pack of a sane, sober and honest press.

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War is hell, all right! But the trouble is that it is never hell *here*. Wreck and ruin are always across the seas. It is hell to the soldiers—at least to those who get to the front—and to their parents and kinsmen when they are maimed, missing, or dead. But these are only a few among the many millions of our people. In the common experience of war the majority of us are not touched.

Of course, the atomic bomb may take care of all this. It seems likely! But, if so, how many Americans know it? We have the bomb, haven't we? And we are going to strike first, aren't we? Just like Goering in 1939, who said that if bombs fell on Berlin his name was Meyer! You see, it's always the other fellow who is going to get hurt. What we need is some kind of guarantee that, no matter what the advantages of conflict on our side, we are none the less going to suffer terribly from war. These modest proposals of mine would insure something of this sort.

Is all this fantastic? Yes—utterly! So fantastic that, if such proposals were actually adopted, there would be no war.

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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Subheads

Goats in Coats

There seems to be some uncertainty about the ability of our planet to stand up under the impact of the atomic bombs to be exploded under water at Bikini Atoll in July and August. Dr. Urey says the chances of starting a chain reaction that would actually blow up the world are remote —one in 100 septillion. But Dr. H. S. Uhler, Physics Professor Emeritus of Yale, suggests the gloomy possibility that the bomb may blow a chunk out of the ocean floor, permitting "cubic miles" of cold sea water to pour in on the volcanic "super-heated bowels of the earth." The resultant chain of explosions, says Dr. Uhler, might send tidal waves a mile or more high coursing across the ocean, or even shift such masses from the equatorial to higher latitudes that the earth would be thrown off its axis. Fortunately there are only a few chronic dissidents so unpatriotic as to question the military's right to risk these minor discomforts for the sake of learning what the bomb will do to battleships, atolls, and an assortment of hapless animals, including goats in special coats.

We live in such an aura of suspicious secrecy that it is impossible to rely only on the information that comes fully authenticated. The government keeps from its people the very secrets of life and death, and the people must try to peer around corners, and search for bombs in waste-baskets, and they cannot be blamed for not trusting their leaders. There is Dr. Urey's reassurance about the danger of chain reactions from the atomic bomb, but there is also a pretty well-authenticated statement from another atomic scientist, who cannot be named in this aura of secrecy. *He* says that the scientists do not know what may happen, and that one of the many possibilities *is* a chain reaction that would result in the world's disappearance in a puff of smoke. And do we sue Dr. Urey for damages if it turns out he was wrong?

Another reassuring note comes from the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which had what the Associated Press calls a "private discussion" of whether the Bikini bombs might explode the Pacific Ocean. (The heat generated by the bomb is so intense that it separates water instantly into its component elements, hydrogen and oxygen, which promptly explode.) The participating scientists decided that probably only a fairly small section of the ocean will blow up.

Fish

Some faint-hearts profess to be concerned about the myriads of fish that are certain to be destroyed by the force of the bomb's explosion and by the subsequent radio-active waves. This group is made up of two segments: the short-term fish-lovers and the long-term never-say-die-ers. The former enjoy catching or eating fish or even just thinking wistfully about fish swimming deep in the green water. The long-termers remember that fish came pretty far along in the evolutionary process, and keep hoping that it won't be necessary for Nature to go all the way back to the primeval ooze after man has succeeded in vaporizing all land-bound creatures.

Semantics

The military men who are insisting on the Bikini tests are of the genus commonly called *realistic,* as contrasted with the *idealistic* pacifists, who would get rid of the bomb and turn the to-be-blown-up-and-sunk warships into locomotives, bridges, and eggbeaters for prostrate Europe.

Backward Natives

The erstwhile natives of Bikini, who have been moved by a benevolent Uncle Sam to another atoll a hundred miles away, are a horrible example of what happens to people who have no scientists and no military. Naval Lt. E. J. Rooney calls them[1] the second most backward people in the Marshall Islands, which is pretty backward, and observes unhappily that even the military government affected them very little. "American love of efficiency and haste," says Lt. Rooney, "is a source of amusement rather than inspiration." The Bikini islanders are "unusually kind and considerate to one another. Even though it might mean financial gain, there are no trade secrets. If one person has a special skill, he shares it. . . . Lacking most of our inhibitions, the people express a love

[1] *New York Times,* March 31, 1946.

for one another which is not found among more advanced peoples."

Strange and backward people, indeed! Perhaps it would have been wiser to let them remain on their atoll when the bombs are dropped. Alive, they remain a seductive temptation to the inhibited, loveless, bomb-ridden advanced peoples of the world.

Counter-Irritant

Just to take our minds off the atomic bomb, Dr. William Higinbotham hints at the latest developments in war by disease, "a secret which the War Department is keeping from you." Dr. Higinbotham is chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, and his disclosure of the government's "multi-million dollar development of bacteriological warfare" appears in the first issue of *Atomic Information,* publication of the newly formed National Committee on Atomic Information. Germ warfare, confides Dr. Higinbotham, may be even worse than atomic. Which seems a very academic distinction.

Military Morality

The struggle over the possible extension of the Selective Service Act provided some interesting sidelights on the age-old philosophic dispute about ends and means. The military, and especially our old friend General Hershey, insisted that the armed forces could not expect to continue their high rate of voluntary recruiting (which has been double what the War Department predicted) if the Act were not continued, since most of those enlisting were simply anticipating the draft by a few weeks or months. The argument had a nice reasonable ring to it, and must have convinced many thousands of people. The only trouble with it was that the War Department's own figures, when they finally were obtained, showed that 82 per cent of the volunteers were veterans, who were not in danger of the draft! Who was that old enemy of democracy who wrote that if you tell a big enough lie, and tell it often enough, people will believe it?

Atrocity Story

Three officers and nine enlisted men of the American army are being tried by court martial for atrocities committed against other American soldiers held as prisoners at Lichfield army prison, in England, where the twelve were in charge. The atrocities were in the tradition of such things, and included beatings, castor oil, standing in constrained positions for hours at a time, and similar sadistic devices. The War Department is properly horrified at such tales, and promises to make an example of the culprits. (The prosecutor, a captain, resigned from the court with the accusation that the trial was stacked to convict the enlisted men and acquit the officers.)

The whole situation evidently came as a complete surprise to the War Department, although any CO confined at Lewisburg Penitentiary, where hundreds of army prisoners wound up, could have enlightened it at any time, and statements of the victims themselves have been on file in the Adjutant General's office for many months. (One CO tried to enlist the help of a well-known liberal in bringing such conditions to light in April, 1945, but was assured that the stories were "simply not true.") For the War Department's information, similar treatment was fairly common at several other prisons and stockades, including Shepton Mallet (England), Casablanca, Schofield Barracks (Hawaii), and at various Pacific bases. Many of the charges in these cases also are in the Adjutant General's files.

Inconsequential

Under-Secretary of War Royall visited some of the army prisons mentioned, but reported that the men had no serious grievances. He was sure of that, because they complained so loudly about "inconsequential" matters. "They said they had to work hard and they didn't like to be confined," he reported.

Probably confinement seems fairly inconsequential when you're an Under Secretary on the outside looking in, but it looms somewhat more important on the other side of the bars. Particularly is that true of men who have been sentenced by army courts martial, with sentences often measured in decades rather than years!

Converts

On the other hand, pacifists can feel a sense of satisfaction over the conversion to their point of view of America's two top-ranking generals. MacArthur's amazing statement on the futility of force is included elsewhere in this issue. The other new pacifist is General Eisenhower, who is reported by United Press as having said, on April 20, that "our longtime job" is to abolish armies and navies and achieve peace "not through force of arms and not through pouring millions into battleships and guns" but through world friendship.

Famine

President Truman has modified his earlier reassuring words on the famine conditions abroad, after they had been contradicted by relief workers on the spot in Europe and Asia. The situation will be worse next winter than it is this, *they* say. An American observer with UNRRA in China reports seeing common graves in Hunan Province with signs reading: "These people died in the Great Famine of 1946." The Chinese Food Minister reports that 14 to 15 million Chinese are starving to death, with 150 million undernourished. Famine in India is as bad, and in Indo-China, and in Japan, while the U.S. feeds its farm animals 100,000,000 more bushels of wheat than usual in the last half year, and Americans average almost 3,400 calories per day. . . . The voluntary rationing proposed by the President is so inadequate as to be almost irrelevant. What is needed is a greatly increased program of "set-asides" of essential foods and materials, with a consequent resumption of rationing to assure equitable distribution of what is left. It is getting the cold shoulder because this is an election year. America is playing politics with starvation.

Thirty for Fifteen

Fifteen dollars will pay for a thirty-pound CARE package, including food for thirty good meals and other needed materials for Europe's hungry in seven countries . . . The FOR War Victims' Fund needs more money than ever. Is its mite box on *your* dining-room table? . . . Letters to the government insisting on larger food set-asides and permission to send food packages to Germany are essential. You may literally save a life with a three-cent stamp!

The job of every soldier worth his salt is to work—to work us (in the army) out of jobs forever.—GEN. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

One Way and Only One

By GENERAL DOUGLAS MacARTHUR

The following remarkable excerpts are taken verbatim from the address of General Douglas MacArthur before the opening session of the Allied Control Council in Tokyo, Japan, on April 4, 1946. The italics and sub-headings are those of the editors.

WHILE all the provisions of this proposed new [Japanese] Constitution are of importance, and lead individually and collectively to the desired end as expressed at Potsdam, I desire especially to mention that provision dealing with the renunciation of war. Such renunciation, while in some respects a logical sequence to the destruction of Japan's war-making potential, goes yet further in *the surrender of the sovereign right to resort to arms* in the international sphere.

Japan thereby proclaims her faith in a society of nations, governed by just, tolerant, and effective rules of universal social and political morality, and entrusts its national sovereignty thereto.

The cynic may view such action as demonstrating but a childlike faith in a visionary ideal, but the *realist* will see in it far deeper significance.

He will understand that in the evolution of society it became necessary for man to surrender certain rights theretofore inherent in himself in order that states might be created vested with sovereign power over the individuals who collectively formed them—that foremost of these inherent rights thus surrendered to the body politic was man's right to resort to force in the settlement of disputes with his neighbor.

With the advance of society, groups or states federated together through the identical process of surrendering inherent rights and submitting to a sovereign power representing the collective will. In such a manner was formed the United States of America. . . .

The proposal of the Japanese government—a government over people who now have reason to know the complete failure of war as an instrument of national policy—in effect but recognizes one further step in the evolution of mankind, under which nations would develop, for mutual protection against war, yet a higher law of international, social, and political morality.

Whether the world is yet ready for so forward a step in the relations between nations, or whether another and totally destructive war—a war involving *almost mass extermination*—must first be waged, is the great issue which now confronts all peoples.

The Utter Futility of Force

There can be no doubt that both the progress and survival of civilization is dependent upon the timely recognition of the imperative need for some such forward step; is dependent upon the realization by all nations of the *utter futility of force as an arbiter of international issues;* is dependent upon elimination from international relations of the suspicion, distrust and hatred which inevitably result from power threats, boundary violations, secret maneuvering, and violation to public morality; is dependent upon a world leadership which *does not lack the moral courage* to implement the will of the masses who abhor war and upon whom falls the main weight of war's frightful carnage; and, finally, is dependent upon the development of a world order which will permit a nation such as Japan safely to entrust its national integrity to just such a higher law to which all peoples on earth shall render themselves subservient.

Therein lies the road to lasting peace.

I therefore commend Japan's proposal for the renunciation of war to the thoughtful consideration of all the peoples of the world. *It points the way and the only way.* The United Nations Organization, admirable as is its purpose, great and noble as are its aims, can only survive to achieve that purpose and those aims if it accomplishes as to *all nations* just what Japan proposes unilaterally to accomplish through this Constitution—abolish war as a sovereign right.

Such a renunciation must be *simultaneous and universal.* It must be *all* or none. It must be effected by *action*—not words alone—and open, undisguised action which invites the confidence of all men who would serve the cause of peace. The present instrumentality to enforce its will—the pooled armed might of its component nations—can at best be but a *temporary expedient* so long as nations still recognize as co-existent the sovereign right of belligerency.

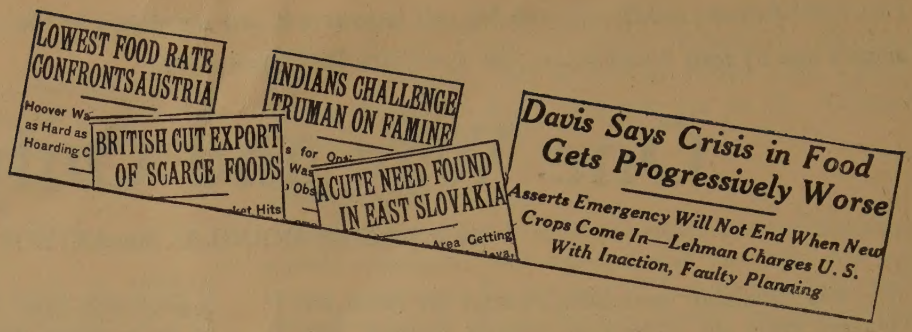
Still We Hesitate

No thoughtful man will fail to recognize that with the development of modern science another war may blast mankind to perdition, but still we hesitate, still we cannot, *despite the yawning abyss at our very feet,* unshackle ourselves from the past. Therein lies the *childlike* faith in the future—a faith that, as in the past, the world can somehow manage to survive yet another universal conflict. In that irresponsible faith *lies civilization's greatest peril.*

We sit here in Council, representatives of the military might and moral strength of the modern world. It is our responsibility and our purpose to consolidate and strengthen the peace won at the staggering cost of war.

As we thus deal in the international sphere with some of the decisive problems I have but briefly outlined, it is incumbent upon us to proceed on the high level of universal service that we may do our full part toward restoring the rule of reason to international thought and action. Thereby may we further universal adherence to that higher law in the preservation of peace which finds full and unqualified approval in the enlightened conscience of all of the peoples of the earth.

Famine Threatens the Peace


LOWEST FOOD RATE CONFRONTS AUSTRIA
Hoover W
as Hard as
Hoarding C
BRITISH CUT EXPORT OF SCARCE FOODS
INDIANS CHALLENGE TRUMAN ON FAMINE
ACUTE NEED FOUND IN EAST SLOVAKIA
Davis Says Crisis in Food Gets Progressively Worse
Asserts Emergency Will Not End When New Crops Come In—Lehman Charges U. S. With Inaction, Faulty Planning

By GLENN EVERETT*

Food has been the most burning issue in the world for the past six months. It will continue to be a burning question for many more months to come, for food is the most important single factor in the reconstruction of a war-torn world. Without food, the world's population will lack the energy to tackle the tremendous job of rebuilding war-devastated areas.

It is hard for Americans, best fed among the world's peoples, to realize how much food means to the inhabitants of Europe and Asia. Nutritionists declare that a drop from 3300 calories a day, at which we are presently feeding ourselves, to 2900 calories, which we would have if we really economized on food, would scarcely be noticeable from the dietary standpoint and might even improve some persons' health. But a further drop from 2900 to 2500 would impair health and efficiency, and an additional drop from 2500 calories a day to 2100 would have a very serious effect. With each loss of 100 calories thereafter, the effect upon the human body becomes cumulatively greater, until at 1050 calories a day, the level at which Germany is presently being fed, a few score calories represent the actual dividing line between life and death! In this instance, the dietary level does mean death for thousands of people, as Lt. Gen. Lucius Clay recently told former President Hoover.

Food is vital to reconstruction. The important role it plays can be seen by contrasting Belgium and the Netherlands, which have been relatively well fed during recent months, with France, which has existed on a bare subsistence diet. The Low Countries, favorably situated with respect to overseas colonies and foreign exchange, and with large port facilities available, have been living on a diet of 2500 calories a day, or more, for the past nine months. France, on the other hand, has had a diet ranging from 1500 to 1900 calories a day in its various Departments.

Reconstruction is well advanced in the Low Countries. The governments are vigorously conducted, the people are rebuilding their damaged cities and black marketing and criminal delinquency virtually have disappeared. Within two or three years the people promise to be as well situated as before the war, and will be looking forward with confidence to a new and better future.

France, however, presents a sad picture of discouragement. The major occupation of a large number of her citizens is black marketing and barter. Her politics are indifferent and confused, her government feeble. Her war damage stands largely unrepaired. She is a nation with a broken and bewildered spirit.

The difference can largely be accounted for in terms of diet. The Belgians and Dutch have the energy for reconstruction. They get up from a good dinner table and go confidently to their tasks. They have zest for problems of national policy and future planning.

The Frenchman gets up from a meager table, still hungry, and, consciously or unconsciously, begins to look around for something else to eat.

In Germany observers have noticed how the people have become more listless and discouraged as they have come closer to starvation. Reconstruction, as in the Ruhr coal mines, has almost come to a halt. Italy, also starving, lies prostrate and helpless, with even the elemental tasks of reestablishing transportation and communication hardly touched. Soon observers will be reporting the same picture in Japan as that nation's diet comes nearer and nearer the starvation level.

Reconstruction Not Begun

The great cities of Europe and most of those in China and Japan are vast collections of ruin and wreckage. Some, like Cologne and Warsaw, have virtually ceased to exist as residential centers. Yet not one brick has been cleared, nor one new building erected, save where laborers with sufficient energy have been put to work. Textile mills in Poland, for instance, are still 80 per cent idle and unrepaired even though the entire country is desperate for clothing.

Reconstruction has not even begun in these hungry countries. People are merely existing, crawling out of the cellars of their ruined cities, trying to sustain life as long as possible, in any way that offers itself.

The people of the United States are mistaken if they think that the battle of food will be won by the harvests this summer. True, supplies of food will for a time become adequate in even the most stricken lands, but before autumn has passed the spectre of famine will be with the world again. It is already becoming evident that the crops presently being planted in Europe will yield a harvest far below the prewar average. If droughts or unfavorable weather strike, the food situation may be *even worse than in the past year.*

In many sections of Poland, for instance, 80 per cent of the draft animals have been carried off during the war. Fertilizer is pitifully short and the ancient soil of Europe needs far more fertilizer than does the rich soil of America. UNRRA is rushing several boatloads of young mares to the most stricken areas, and is even now loading boats with phosphate rock at Florida ports in order that Greek and Yugoslav farmers may have some of this vitally needed

* Washington newspaperman and FOR member, now specializing in international relations and agriculture.

fertilizer. But an UNRRA rehabilitation officer recently remarked sadly that "this is scarcely a drop in the bucket; we will do well in these areas if we get a harvest that is only 25 per cent below normal."

Seed, too, is critically short, for farmers have not raised seed for sale when money has been valueless and they have themselves been starving for want of food. Added to the shortage of farm machinery and transportation, and the general lassitude of labor due to malnutrition, this makes for a general agricultural outlook that is anything but favorable in Europe and Japan this year.

America's Responsibility

With the prospect that the world will continue in desperate need of food for many months to come, the United States, as the richest agricultural nation in the world and the only nation with *more than enough* to eat, needs to have a keen awareness of its responsibility in reconstruction. Americans need to have a world consciousness that enables them to see themselves as part of the world's people who are universally struggling to end war and rebuild the damage that this last conflict has wrought.

In looking toward America's continuing responsibility, it is well to take stock of how we have acquitted ourselves during the past six months.

"Too little and too late," the words heard so frequently during the war, aptly describe our postwar relief efforts, as well. The steps taken under the President's Famine Emergency program have all been excellently conceived and ably administered, but they have been *far too late,* and, in consequence, entirely too little food has been delivered. The food conservation program should have been put into operation in December rather than March. The reduction in bread size and various restrictions on flour would have been of far more benefit if ordered in mid-January rather than in mid-April.

The unwillingness of officials to take cognizance of a bad situation until forced to do so by circumstances must be blamed for the poor record which America has made in meeting its six-million-ton wheat export promise. Competent officials at the Department of Agriculture saw a world wheat shortage coming long before it arrived. But it was not popular last fall to "retard" reconversion with pessimistic predictions of future difficulties. So rationing, except of sugar, was completely ended in November because politicians demanded that the Truman administration must prove that it meant to keep no "unnecessary" wartime controls.

As a result of the delay in realizing the seriousness of the food situation, American domestic food consumption climbed to new all-time records in both the last quarter of 1945 and the first quarter of 1946, a shocking fact in the face of our unfilled export commitments.

In all fairness, however, it must be said that once high Washington officials belatedly realized what was happening, their subsequent actions were vigorous and praiseworthy. They have not been content to see America thus haphazardly fail to meet its commitments.

Chester C. Davis, former War Food Administrator, has been called back to Washington to head the Famine Emergency committee. Former President Herbert Hoover has come out of retirement to tour Europe and report firsthand on the need he finds there, so that the American people can be made to realize the seriousness of the situation. Fiery Fiorello H. LaGuardia has been named director-general of UNRRA for the purpose of exercising his well-known voice on behalf of the starving peoples that agency is serving.

Meanwhile, in the Department of Agriculture itself, Dr. Albert Viton, former professor of political science at Northwestern University, whose liberal writings, particularly against imperialism, are well known, has been given a strategic position in determining food allocations to foreign claimants. Dr. Rainer Schickele, former Ames, Iowa, professor, widely known among Friends and FOR members in that state, has been named representative of civilian consumers on the allocations committee, where he has consistently favored giving our collective shirts away, and argued that larger shipments of food can be made.

These are hopeful signs. The program, if initiated earlier, might have been an outstanding success. Many signs, however, are not hopeful. One is that UNRRA is to go out of business next January 1. Unless its agricultural rehabilitation program is taken over by the United Nations and the food needs of such nations as Greece, which it has ably served, continue to be met until food production is fully restored, much of its useful work may be lost in the disaster still to come.

If UNRRA's impending demise is typical of our desire to get away from the burdens imposed by postwar relief, the outlook is dark, indeed. The excellent relief program now belatedly functioning may fail next autumn with terrible consequences to world reconstruction.

The measure of America's Christianity, of her real desire for reconciliation, and of her willingness to build for lasting peace may well come in the next six months.

Will we feed our former enemies and help them on the road to building a peaceful, democratic Japan? Will we accept the challenge next fall to continue our program of aid in those areas of Europe, such as Greece, Italy, Germany, and Poland, where the poor outlook for 1946 crops makes it certain that relief will be needed?

The American people alone hold the answer. To a very real extent they control their government. They, with their prejudices or idealism, with their selfish nationalism or unselfish brotherhood, determine what policies guide the national government in Washington. This is particularly true in an election year. American citizens cannot escape their individual responsibility for national policy. This responsibility rests particularly heavily upon those who understand the importance of food and are aware of America's role in supplying it.

Lord's Prayer—1946

Christ of the Manger,
Before whose anguished eyes
Black clouds of childish hunger
From a million altars rise,
Until these little ones are fed
We cannot say,
We dare not pray,
"Give us this day our daily bread".

BERTHA HARRIS CONVERSE.

Witness in Czechoslovakia

By ROBERT ROOT*

VERY QUIETLY THE WORD CAME IN: "We are alive in Czechoslovakia; we are working; we have never stopped." And to us, the Fellowship safe in America, the miracle of that quiet voice lifted above the clump of military boots, the scream of shells, the silence of the starved, was Christ on the mountain saying, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Two gentle people, Premysl Pitter and his helpmeet, the Swiss woman Olga Fierz, are vigorously carrying on in Czechoslovakia today as they carried on all through the war.

The story of Premysl and Olga is the story of pacifism triumphant in their country. For many years Premysl has been head of the FOR in Czechoslovakia and for eighteen years Olga has assisted him in directing a day-care center for slum children in Prague. Never has their courage faltered or their witness faded. Before the war, during the war and Nazi occupation, and now in the chaotic time of reorganization they have remained in the forefront of the non-violent resistance movement.

Between World Wars I and II, as FOR chairman and member of the War Resisters Council, Pitter gave little heed to the laws that prohibited speaking or writing against conscription. Twice in the 'thirties he was imprisoned, but his work of organizing pacifism went on. Only when the police found a list of 300 FOR members and ordered them to court did Pitter no longer seek regular memberships. He retained as a nucleus about eighty members and went ahead, as he had been doing for seventeen years, with the editing of the pacifist magazine, *Sbratreni* (meaning *Fraternization* or *Brotherhood*). Friends and sympathizers to the number of some 3,000 subscribed to the magazine.

Getting news of rural areas has always been difficult for Czech pacifists, so there may have been many more than the known six to ten conscientious objectors who every year during that between-wars interim went off to prison for two- to three-year sentences. After mobilization in the spring of 1938 and the Munich agreement that fall there was even less chance of obtaining such pacifist news. Pacifists without a strong religious foundation for their beliefs decided to fight and not even today is it known how many Czechs refused mobilization during those months. By the next spring when the Nazi occupation began the problem of pacifism itself changed. The Germans ended military service and Czech pacifism went underground.

"On the whole," Olga Fierz said of their experiences under the Nazis, "we were very lucky." The Nazis would crack down on one circle in which Pitter moved, but always at that moment he managed to belong to a different circle. Other FOR members were not so fortunate. Simsa Jaroslav, secretary of the student YMCA in Prague, was sent to Dachau for four years for helping the families of persons in concentration camps, and he died just two months before the end of the war. Valentine Bulgarov, last secretary of Tolstoi, and his daughter, were imprisoned for close to three years.

At the beginning of the occupation publication of *Sbratreni* was still possible, but the censorship became more and more severe. Meetings of the FOR were forbidden, but members continued to have them simply by making no announcement. If word came that a Gestapo spy was going to be present, members were warned away. Concerts were organized by pacifists that centered around a lecture by Premysl Pitter. Milicuv Dum, the large settlement house which Pitter built in 1933, had an assembly hall which would hold 500 people, but always at these lectures there were people standing. The text of the address had to be censored by the Nazis, which was, as Olga Fierz put it, "ridiculous," since the real message was not in what was said, but what lay behind the words and between the lines.

Those who were the real strength of the FOR, said Olga Fierz, did not resist violently. Those who had been on the edge of the movement did turn to violent resistance. Two hid arms and were killed. In Olga's mind there is no line between non-violent resistance and Tolstoyan "non-resistance." When Czech pacifists merely *met* in those days it was non-violent resistance, she said.

It is interesting to note Pitter's own evolution as a pacifist, for he was not always one. He was a young man, a professed atheist, when Austria became involved in World War I and he entered the fight against the Russians in 1915. But war did things to him. "In the midst of war and the bankruptcy of human intelligence," he has written, "I began to be conscious of a higher power." While recovering from illness in a hospital he came across Tolstoy and later in theological school studied Czech history and discovered for himself the role that pacifism had played in his country's life. The fourteenth-century mystic and Moravian preacher, Jan Milic, who had the temerity to call the emperor the Antichrist, and Peter of Chelcic who exalted "Thou shalt not kill" as a supreme commandment and was the real founder of the Bohemian Brethren, were men that the young man Premysl Pitter did not forget. Later, when the time came for him to build his settlement house in Prague, Premysl named it after Milic—Milicuv Dum.

The severest test, of course, was in relation to the Jews. Three per cent of the children using the settlement house were Jewish and they kept on coming until the Nazis imposed the wearing of the Star of David. This necessitated forbidding the house to the children, since if the stars were seen the house would be closed and even its partial usefulness brought to an end. And so instead of the Jews coming to Milicuv Dum, the FOR went to them. Because the Jews were on short rations food was taken to them. Later, as even children from mixed families were carried off by the Nazis, Fellowship members began to hide Jewish children in peasant homes. Altogether from Milicuv Dum and its friends aid went to more than 100 Jewish families. Yet of even more value than the gift of food at these

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times, said Olga Fierz, was sympathy and expression of brotherhood. One worker who had brought food repeatedly from the house without giving her name was told, "I understand. When it's all over, tell us who you are."

Since the ending of the war pacifists in Czechoslovakia have found ever greater opportunity of expressing their concern. In castles near Prague they have taken care of some 500 children from concentration camps, including children of so-called "enemy" nationalities. In an UNRRA report published by the Czech government about this activity the worker stated: "I found that there were some 300 non-Czech children in Czechoslovakia who were eligible for this scheme. About 240 of these children are Poles and the remainder German and Austrian. . . . It was gratifying to see how well a large number of children had recovered in two short months."

For Germans interned in Czech concentration camps awaiting deportation Premysl and Olga Fierz are holding worship services, and when the complete story of this effort can be told it will be another proud one for FOR members.

While at Milicuv Dum I happened to see a dramatic example of the way the expression of brotherhood has worked. A Czech Jewish boy of about 16 visited the house. When he had been released from concentration camp last spring—one of the few of his kind who survived—he was sick and starving. More important even than that, he was cynical and bitter. But because of the aid given to him in one of the castles he now was strong, round-cheeked and bright-eyed. He had brought some of his own drawings as gifts for those who had helped him. The best of them, black as hate, showed the miseries of a concentration camp as his child mind had seen it. But from above shone a white light and a figure was struggling up in the ray. Below, he had written:

"To one who gave me back my faith."

Portrait of a "Great Soul"*

By KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

NO man since the Buddha has won the hearts of the Indians so completely and symbolized their ethos so poignantly as Mahatma Gandhi! There are other glittering figures in contemporary India, perhaps more appealing to Westerners, in a way, because of their own Westernism. Their Western symbols and English idiom are more understandable to the West, and they are, therefore, less disconcerting than Gandhi would be who is so uniquely Eastern. It may be that one or two of these Indian leaders might have imparted luster even to Western thought by sheer force of character and by the extra-Western information in their possession. But fundamentally these are the polishers of Western ways, although they were born in India. In sharp contrast, Gandhi represents what is distinctive of India. His contribution to the fast-developing global culture is, in consequence, also distinctive, and not merely an Easterner's endorsement of Western civilization.

The Mahatma will condition India even after he is dead. Maybe India will outgrow Gandhism in such fields as non-violence, industrialization, and birth control. But the new departures will be profoundly influenced by Gandhi's deeds and words. Both the government and private groups have produced daring plans for India's reconstruction along educational, medical, population, industrial, and agricultural lines, and none of these have been able to ignore Gandhi's influence, present or posthumous.

As the Wagnerian holocaust of World War II neared its climax, I saw Gandhi stand out as the most conspicuous challenge to a civilization to which wars are endemic because its core is competition. He stood at the other end of the pole from the modern and almost universal mood, so remote and so singular that his utterances at times sounded preposterous and his actions maddening.

Reading the writings of Gandhi and about Gandhi, besides imparting a sharp edge to my nostalgia for native ground, has become an intellectual exercise to bring into focus the enigma of human striving versus determinism. I have lived in the West for more than a decade and steeped myself in what I consider the best in her. My Indian heritage tugs also at the invisible cords of the subconscious. In my search for a philosophy of life in the atomic age, I have vacillated between the West and the East, and Gandhi has become to me the symbol of that ungeographic East which has not yet covered itself with Western veneer.

I have felt that Gandhi is archaic in his bio-chemistry and in his physics, for philosophies, like pheasants, can be hung too long. But like Norman Cousins I have felt also that modern man is obsolete in his insensitivity to universal unity and in his disregard of cosmic determinism in relation to free will. I have lived amidst the dazzling successes of our machine civilization, which cannot square up with the thousand little tragedies, mainly in the nature of psychological disturbances, of its individuals and groups. I can recall also the statistically staggering privations of my own people, which often hide real personal stability and happiness, and have wondered whether a balance could be struck somewhere in between so that men, everywhere, would be modern and yet imbued with what Freud calls Oceanic Feeling.

Man's life is lived on two planes. Essentially all his activities and thoughts acquire meaning in terms of the two basic urges of his inner being. He marches, as it were, in two directions at the same time, and the more he is able to do so without conflict, the more he is integrated, happy. The ideal man of the Scriptures is the one who has composed a unity of the two trends emanating from his life-motif.

One urge of life is horizontal. Man is born in a family, in a town, in a country, in a world, in collective history

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at a given moment. He thus becomes the social animal of Aristotelian definition. He is a part of a community which in turn is given some of his qualities. Man must make his social equation with men, with his surroundings.

The Vertical Impulse

He must also make his personal equation with God, in whatever cosmic formula He is described or designated. For in addition to being a social animal, he is a solitude; man is alone. He is a child of eternity. This is the other impulse of life, the vertical impulse. It is experienced by each one of us in moments of grace, or inspiration, or of utter loneliness, and these moments occur more frequently with advancing years. And here the path is too narrow even for two persons; each individual solitude must tread an evolutionary course which would take it, not to the multitude—for that is realized by the horizontal trend—but to the existence eternal which some people call salvation. Solitude expands itself into the world-soul.

Vertical yearning dominates the horizontal in Gandhi. "My experiments in the political field," writes the Mahatma, "are now known, not only to India, but to a certain extent to the 'civilized' world. For me, they have not much value . . . What I want to achieve—what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years—is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain *moksha* (salvation)." So his autobiography is vertical. It is not a tract on his time; it is the story of his "experiments with truth." His has been a life more independent of his time than that of any of his famous or infamous contemporaries. You can transplant his story into another age with very minor changes, and it still will sound credible. He conducts mass political movements according to the "voice of the conscience."

Add to the strange fascinations of his character the sheer story-book quality of his personality; diverting yet purposefully earnest; divinely maddening yet humanly contradictory; uplifting as a standard but inimitable and, therefore, repelling; charming and kind and joyous but severe at the center; so momentous and yet so unassuming. What he is, is at least as interesting as what he has done.

Gandhi is a man of almost incredible contrasts. Gaunt, ascetic and self-denying, he is nevertheless the picture of health and agility. Nearing seventy-eight, Gandhi still retains a schoolboy complexion and radiance. He outwalks most youngsters during his daily strolls. His diet, although frugal, is scientifically planned and weighed, and his habits of living are as dependable as Big Ben. Recently Gandhi announced that not only does he expect to live to be 125, but that he will soon reveal his formula so that others can do likewise.

Like Thoreau he has ever been seeking a Walden, but his white-coated cabin has become "India's White House." Before a road was built or a telephone line (his only concession to modernism) installed, visitors and colleagues and foreign celebrities had to deal with miles of General Mud to reach Gandhi's hermitage. It is a simple affair of bamboos and mud, near Wardha, which is geographically to India what Emporia, Kansas, is to America. The round mound and the surrounding countryside were of rich soil, but without trees; the horizon was broken only by the sloping hills and jutting ridges.

The man who wanted to be alone is now surrounded by a lively community and the headquarters of the various movements of which he has been a spearhead. Now there are orange and banana trees, and Persian wheels to bring water up from the parched earth. Three acres of land are covered with buildings, of which only a few are made of brick and cement. These are the offices of the All-India Spinners Association; the All-India Village Industries Association; the All-India Anti-Untouchability League; and the All-India National Language Association.

There is a guest house, a school, and a post office, the humblest post-office building in the world but, perhaps, one of the greatest in terms of the exchange of international correspondence.

Intensely devoted to causes, Gandhi still has a keen sense of humor that never leaves him. He knows humanity's sorrow, and he also knows that sensitive souls should somehow manage to survive. "If I had no sense of humor," he confided once, "I should long ago have committed suicide." Being with Gandhi is like being at a party, and Gandhi is the life of a party.

But he is not a wit. His are not the calculated shafts of a sophisticate who knows how to get himself quoted. Neither is he what you would call clever. In fact, Gandhi's humor, so immensely enjoyed by people around him at the time, loses its quality in the retelling. You come away with the feeling that you have had a fabulous time, but you cannot reconstruct a humorous reminiscence from the experience. His laughter is contagious rather than memorable.

On Gandhi's seventy-fifth birthday, Dr. Albert Einstein sent me a message to be used in a book I was editing, concluding: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT

(*Dedicated to the Sister of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru*)

Frail figurehead on the long galleon's prow,
Sheer from your woman's grace the wide ship flares,
Fans out behind the apex of your brow.
Your native India as a banner wears
Your front of freedom. The oppressed in lands
Far off their dull gray tedium break,
Turn like a restless wave stirred by your hands,
Follow as foam in the white watery wake.

Now a tall rock blots out the noonday sun,
Covers the light of your calm universe,
Forces your ship in shadow world to run,
Casts on the sea a dark and angular curse.
But all the elements are on your side:
Lightly you walk on water, step on sea.
The slow processional of the deep tide
Bears you beyond the dreaded island's lee—
Bears you to light, but grinds the barren stone,
Claws the imperial rock down to a skeleton bone.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Prison Is Revenge

By CALEB FOOTE*

OF the four freedoms, perhaps the greatest public response has been to freedom from fear. Upon that freedom the other three depend; yet if our society is ever to achieve that freedom, it must discard a penal system that creates fear and utilizes the threat of insecurity. Our thousands of county jails, reformatories, and penitentiaries continue to express a philosophy of punishment which neither democracy, medicine, nor the moral codes of religion and philosophy can justify.

Prisons are most commonly justified by the argument that they make people obey the laws of the land and give society a certain degree of protection. Neither claim is supported by the facts:

1. Despite greatly improved methods of detection, crime in America has increased during the last generation and juvenile delinquency has sky-rocketed. Experts predict new highs in the post-war years, despite the threat of Alcatraz, Sing Sing and the FBI. For reasons which will be elaborated below, many people are driven to anti-social behavior regardless of the threat of punishment. Many more are convinced of their own ability to escape detection; and statistics, showing that more than 90 per cent of those who commit serious crimes are never convicted, prove that the odds are high in favor of the criminal's gamble. "White-collar crime" conducted in the course of business activity, technically illegal but powerful enough to go unpunished, is estimated to cost the people ten times as much as the depredations of the better known kind of criminal. Slogans to the contrary notwithstanding, crime does pay.

2. Our high recidivist rates bear out the observation that many inmates are not deterred from further crime by their experience. Moreover, many even of those who do not go out to commit further crime become potential enemies of democratic life as a result of prison-bred cynicism and bitterness. Some three million persons a year receive this anti-democratic indoctrination.

Schools of Crime

3. Jails and prisons are unsurpassed schools of crime and immoral conduct. They contaminate the innocent and the youthful or first offender, while more experienced offenders are turned out with an additional diploma in crime.

4. The criminal code itself is a hodge-podge, including many obsolete laws, ignoring much that is anti-social; it is purely arbitrary and misleading as a yardstick of "badness." The international bankers and munitions manufacturers, the capitalists who exploit human and natural resources, the profiteers, publishers and politicians who help bring on war—all these are much greater "public enemies" than the conventional criminal; and all fall outside the scope of the criminal code.

So incarceration as protection fails its first and most important practical test. The net is not even designed to catch the whales and sharks; the middle-sized fish are usually clever or powerful enough to escape it; while the minnows caught in the drag are simply trained to greater efficiency and turned out again.

What is perhaps the basic explanation of prisons is so well cloaked behind the mystical rites of courtrooms, so effectively rationalized by talk about "protection" and "rehabilitation," that it is easy to miss its significance. Yet, more than any other factor, the fact that punishment is revenge explains the continued existence of a penal system so at odds with our best democratic and religious philosophy. When we talk of a prisoner "paying his debt to society" we have simply streamlined the Mosaic "eye for an eye." Originally designed to appease the gods lest supernatural wrath harm the entire group, today punishment fills deep needs created by the injustices, inadequacies and fears of modern civilization. It relieves outraged feelings and appeases insecurity; it even fools us into thinking that we are mitigating the evils surrounding us. By condemning the criminal as "outcast" and "public enemy," we are able to soothe our own doubts and fears with the reflection that, at worst, we are not as bad as he.

Society's Scapegoats

Punishment as revenge is a projection onto the criminal of society's dissatisfaction with the real wrongs that destroy so many of life's creative possibilities. Faced with war and poverty, with complex economic and international problems that are seemingly beyond its understanding and control, mankind turns to scapegoats—other racial or national groups, war or domestic criminals.

Moreover, "righteous" condemnation of others usually reveals our own unresolved, subconscious conflicts. All of us are more or less subject to such anti-social drives as greed, theft, violence, and even murder. Seeking to control these urges, we resent any other man who carries them into action. He threatens our defenses, and by condemning and suppressing him we reassure ourselves. It is a hard blow to our pride to accept such thinking, yet it is increasingly verified by psychiatry and has long been a central teaching of the world's great religious leaders: "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

Thus the motives for punishing criminals are neither as simple nor as righteous as they seem on the surface. Devoid of the rational justification of punishment as the protection of society, punishment can be seen in its true light: an escape valve for the punisher's frustration or anger.

When a man or a society runs out of the patience or the imagination to find more creative solutions, an escape is sought by pointing the finger of guilt and demanding "payment of a debt." The tragedy is that such an escape is part of a vicious cycle, for punishment's method of coercing conformity by exciting fear increases the fear and insecurity in the world, thus continuing those tensions out of which the demand for punishment is born!

The failure of punishment as a means of social control and education stems in large part from this almost exclusive reliance upon fear. As nature's alarm signal, to warn of

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approaching harm and give added strength with which to meet the danger, fear is an essential ingredient of human life. But like the other emotions, it is subject to frightful misuse. There is nothing creative in the fear excited by the threatened harm of one man upon another, though men repeatedly have fallen back on this short cut in discipline and education. Threats as a substitute for education fail in their avowed purpose and involve unexpected long-range consequences.

The threat of punishment operates as a deterrent for the anti-social person only as he senses immediate danger to himself, and the expectation of avoiding detection nullifies even this restraint. Reliance on discipline imposed from without is effective in a fascist society, but it can only weaken the bonds of democratic cooperation. Laws obeyed because of fear of the consequences get us into the dangerous habit of associating wrong with the prohibited, rather than judging by some higher moral standards, and leads to submission to bad laws and even to tyranny if sufficient fear is introduced into the process. It was a wise observer of post-Nazi Germany who pointed out that German civilians must now be taught when to disobey.

Punishment Treats Symptoms

A second feature of punishment as a teacher is the error of mistaking symptoms for causes. The crying of a baby or the behavior of persistently "bad" boys are symptoms of maladjustment. Punishment merely attacks the symptoms; a cure is effected only as investigation brings understanding of the cause and seeks its elimination. The causes of underlying criminal behavior are manifold: home environment, greed, defects in the social and economic order, hereditary handicaps, ignorance, mental disease, personal tensions. One pattern of moral condemnation and mass treatment for such a variety of maladjustments is absurd, and yet it is the rule. Despite the surface scratching of the prison psychiatrist, chaplain, or classification clinic, prison treatment represents an almost exclusive reliance on the negative coercion of fear, rather than the positive forces of understanding, treatment, and education. This is why prison reform and the introduction of "rehabilitation" into our penal institutions have been superficial and have failed to alleviate the fundamental evils of imprisonment. Not the arrangement of the structure, but the foundation upon which it is raised is at fault. In dealing with most serious offenders, punishment is both irrelevant in treating the cause and positively harmful to both punished and punisher.

Cases of extreme anti-social behavior illustrate this point. The serious offender is often a sick man. Obsession with guilt, fears about his past, sexual tensions such as an unresolved Oedipus complex, or deep bitterness and hatred of society are all factors over which the man's conscious mind has little or no control. To threaten him or to appeal to his "free will" until these poisonous products of his past are drained off is as futile as telling a victim of streptococcus infection that he'll be all right if only he tries.

Such serious criminal cases make up only a small proportion of the more than a million men and women behind American prison bars. By far the biggest group are the mentally or physically handicapped, the petty offenders or immature youths, and the derelicts of society such as the single old men of our "Skid Rows." They are caught in an economic environment where likelihood of arrest is comparatively high, or they are violators of some obsolete law and are without money or pull. To punish these men and segregate them from society is not only ridiculous; it is the expression of a double standard of judgment whose elimination is essential for an advancing society. There is not one of us who would not bitterly resent being judged by the very standards with which our society now condemns and judges. This raises the profound religious conviction, at the heart of the Lord's Prayer, that in true forgiveness there is a therapeutic agent which purifies alike the forgiver and the forgiven. Needless to say, forgiveness in this sense does not refer to smug, hypocritical condescension but to that overpowering awareness that all men are sinners, and that none can afford to start throwing stones.

This analysis gives us a clue to the direction in which we might find a practical alternative to the penal system, and here the analogy to medicine is useful. In earlier times physical disease was often the object of condemnation and punishment (venereal and mental diseases are only just emerging from this category), but twentieth-century medicine has no time for such irrelevancy. It is concerned with analysis, knowledge, and cure. Our attitude toward crime must undergo a similar evolution. Criminal patients might then fall into four categories:

1. Those for whom repeated treatment finds no cure would be subjected to permanent non-penal segregation, like today's victims of incurable contagious physical disease.

2. For those whose segregation from society is essential pending cure (just as scarlet fever cases are quarantined), there would be institutional analysis and treatment leading to cure; but the atmosphere would be that of hospital and school, not prison.

3. A larger number (as with the less serious medical patients) would be helped in clinics while continuing their normal lives.

4. Perhaps the biggest group of all would simply be forgiven. They are no more anti-social than the great majority of free men, and while vocational and personal counselling would be available for them, there would be no compulsion or stigma involved.

With all four groups, forgiveness would be a part of the therapy because of its positive value and because righteous moralism is a dead-end road, if our genuine concern is rehabilitation. Such suggestions are long-range, but the short cuts have failed. So long as we maintain county jails, bail bonds, concepts of guilt and judgment, the arbitrary totalitarianism of penitentiaries, and all the other paraphernalia of condemnation and degradation which underlie our current philosophy, just so long will our well-meaning reforms give us no more than a new paint job! The transformation must start at the foundations.

The Experience of Prison

All this theory is powerfully substantiated by the experience of imprisonment, for a prison inmate soon finds that bars are not the only barriers restricting his life. The wall of fear separates him from the official, for he hates and fears the men who have such power over his life.

The official, conscious of this contempt, also is afraid; his fears are substantiated by those rare but remembered

murders of prison guards. The officer is driven to suspicion, to a conviction of his superiority over all "cons," and to the practice of an official cruelty quite out of keeping with his real, outside personality. Because they must split their personalities, divorcing official actions from their decent feelings, and because their on-the-job habits begin to spill over into their personal life, it is perhaps the officials who suffer the most damage from prison life.

Prison-reform movements have concerned themselves largely with the elimination of such physical abuses as corporal punishment, poor food, or excessively bad living conditions. Without minimizing the importance of these accomplishments, it is still true that they sidestep the main psychological brutality of imprisonment, which operates in both foul and model institutions. Separation from family, de-personalization, the lack of meaning in one's daily existence, and the denial of freedom do more to rot and sour the mind than many a physical brutality. An America sophisticated in thus transforming physical into psychological torture, which calls its concentration camps "relocation centers," finds this fact hard to understand. But those who have experienced it know that the sugar coating of pious platitudes and well-meant but ineffectual reforms makes very little difference to him who must taste the pill for any appreciable length of time. Two examples from the daily life of a convict will illustrate this subtle but very real psychological decay.

1. Mail is delivered at the first evening count. No matter how many letters one gets, there are certain to be some mail-less nights. Each such brings a sharpness of isolation and loneliness. The letters themselves let you in on normal life as through a slowly thickening haze, for prison increasingly becomes the one reality.

There are always men who get no letters. Some expect none: "There's no one I want to write to," or "I haven't heard from my family in ten years," or "I don't want anyone to know where I am." Others wait every night, hoping in vain, wondering if they've been forgotten, ditched, or superseded by "Joe the Grinder." As the months go by, they stop sending out pleading or angry letters, and shrink back from the front line around the mail officer. Every mail call wrenches their heart anew. For some the crushing climax is the receipt of divorce papers; others remain in seemingly perpetual suspension.

2. Five times a day the loudspeakers cry "Count!" Whatever one is doing is interrupted and all prisoners return to their bunks. The officer goes by, lips moving, his eyes resting on each figure for an instant, checking the total against a slip of paper in his hand. The experience of one count is nothing, but as they pile up month upon month, the counts come to symbolize the prisoner's degradation and exile. Five times a day the count says: prisoned, outcast, condemned, forgotten! Five times a day it brings home all that imprisonment means, until one is only a number to be counted again and again and again. This de-personalization eats into a man's creativity and originality; it is the symbol of a monotony and a uselessness that rust all that makes man higher than the animals.

The utter lack of privacy plays a similar role, as does the ever-present regimentation. Like a school child subjected to old-fashioned discipline, the inmate must finish all the food on his tray and remain in his place at the table until dismissed by a guard. Even when one lines up for a bath and finally steps under the shower, the water spurts out, ready mixed at the official temperature. The individual is merged into the mass; his sense of responsibility and personal initiative are thwarted on every hand.

Conditioned for Tyranny

Perhaps the most accurate generalization of the effect of imprisonment is that it encourages the creation of a mind-set receptive to tyranny. Some of the factors forging this attitude are apparent from the above discussion. Others, most of which apply to officers as well as inmates, include:

1. *Selfishness* is a requirement for "satisfactory adjustment." An official warns incoming men: "There's a tradition here for each inmate to do his own time and not meddle in the affairs of other men." Discussing other men's troubles is prohibited in one's letters and discouraged in dealings with officers. "Doing one's own time" means ignoring the plight of others. Man may be his brother's keeper—but not in prison.

2. Required to let others take the responsibility and do the thinking, an inmate develops a *mental laziness* that carries over into post-prison life. He connives for a "good go," learns to make himself as comfortable as possible under disagreeable circumstances. Having no privacy in which to nurture his own individuality, he loses respect for the individuality of others.

3. *Injustice and inequality* accompany "the administration of justice." The inmate witnesses wide disparity of sentences for the same offense, arbitrary and immoderate prison discipline, and the imperfections of his punishers. Occasional "bum raps" offer strong evidence to support his conviction that wealth will buy a man out of any scrape. The result is a bitter cynicism about justice, capitalism, and the war. But a man must identify himself with something, so this same inmate tends toward an intense patriotism, nationalistic pride, and mystical loyalty to the flag, though outside he may have rejected the ideals for which that flag supposedly stands.

4. Inmates become past masters in *the art of scapegoating,* the illusion whereby one raises oneself by pushing other men into the gutter. At first the judge, district attorney, and prison officials are the victims, but the technique is easily transferred to Jews, the rich, or to Negroes.

Such a man is easy prey for "the leader." Accustomed to having someone else do his thinking, contemptuous of democracy's imperfections and yet intensely patriotic, tolerant of injustice because he sees only himself, viewing in the scapegoat the source of all his troubles—here is fruit ready for the picking by the native fascist. It is tragic that men who must re-emerge into democratic life should be so trained by our prisons. A penal philosophy producing this kind of fruit is a Trojan horse in a country striving for democracy. Regard for the rights of others and social responsibility are not imposed by fear; they must be the products of inner awareness and understanding. Responsibility must be voluntarily assumed; a discipline of fear imposed from without builds support for the Huey Longs or the cynical prophets of "limited democracy," not for the Bill of Rights.

Dr. Cavert Reports Famine in Europe Threatens Social Chaos

Returning from six months in Europe, Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, called for re-establishment of "a strict program of rationing" in the United States in order to increase the supply of food available for shipment to the hungry millions of Europe and Asia. The situation in Central Europe, particularly in Germany, Hungary and Austria, demands the greatest urgency, Dr. Cavert said. "To leave the matter wholly to uncoordinated voluntary activities of individuals is merely toying with the problem," he asserted.

Recent reductions of the daily ration in the British, American and French zones of Germany, Dr. Cavert said, "have pushed the level of nourishment alarmingly near to that of the Belsen concentration camp which shocked tht conscience of the world. . . . The real danger," he warned, "is not a revival of German militarism but a spirit of nihilism and a general social chaos."

The British *Manual of Food* for 1945 comments on the tragic fact that the ration level of 1,550 calories a day has not been maintained in spite of the fact that even that ration is sufficient only for people "who lie still and warm in bed, i.e., who restrict their needs for the mere process of keeping alive." Requirements beyond this minimum for keeping alive are given by the Manual as follows:

	Men	Women
Sedentary	2,500	2,100
Moderately active	3,000	2,500
Very active	4,500	3,000
	Boys	Girls
13 to 15 years	3,200	2,800
16 to 20 years	3,800	2,400

With the threat of starvation sweeping over two continents, the India Famine Emergency Committee has been formed with Pearl S. Buck as chairman, who says: "This is not a relief committee. We are organized for the sole purpose of seeing that there is no discrimination in feeding the world's starving people. . . . India's plight is even more desperate than that of Europe. It is now officially estimated that sixteen million people in India must starve in the next few months unless adequate food supplies are sent, and one hundred million people will be affected by this worst of all famines."

Among the members of the India Famine Emergency Committee are: Gardner Cowles, Jr., Albert Einstein, Marshall Field, Louis Fischer, Harry Emerson Fosdick, William Green, Rufus M. Jones, Philip Murray, Donald M. Nelson, J. J. Singh, Sumner Welles and Walter White. Headquarters are at 40 East 49th St., New York 17.

Bishop Freed Again After Third Fast

Corbett Bishop, oustanding absolutist CO, was freed for the third time on March 11, when he was paroled to his home community, Hamilton, Alabama. Bishop has been uncompromising in his refusal to cooperate with prison authorities during three periods in prison, and has engaged in three prolonged hunger strikes totalling 426 days: 89, 144, and 193 days respectively. The last fast ended with his release. He was originally sentenced to four years and $1,000 fine for "walking out" of the Germfask CPS camp.

As in previous releases, Corbett refused to sign any papers or make any commitments.

Citizenship for COs

In a historic action reversing three previous decisions, the United States Supreme Court on April 22 ruled that citizenship does not necessarily imply the duty of bearing arms in defense of the country. The ruling, which was by a 5 to 3 vote, was on the appeal by James Louis Girouard, who came to this country from Canada in 1923. The Federal Circuit Court at Boston had refused his application because of his statement that, as a Seventh Day Adventist, he would not be willing to take up arms.

Conscription Fight

That the fight over extension of the Selective Service Act is also the fight for and against the whole idea of peacetime conscription is evidenced by a telegram sent in mid-April to "key persons" by the Citizens Committee for Military Training of Young Men, Inc. The telegram read: "It is the considered opinion of this executive committee that there will be no chance of favorable action by the Congress on a Universal Military Training Bill if the draft is not extended. Will you ask as many people as possible to wire or telephone their Senators while at home during the Easter recess urging extension of the present Selective Service Act for 12 months without crippling amendments."

Figures presented to the House Military Affairs Committee by Mrs. Alexander Stewart and John Swomley, testifying for the Women's Committee to Oppose Conscription, showed that without any draft extension the Army on July 1, 1946, would have more than the 1,550,000 men for which it is asking. They also quoted Army figures to prove that on July 1, 1947, there would be in military service 872,432 volunteers plus about 12,000 Wacs, 50,000 Philippine Scouts, and 236,141 draftees. This total is 1,170,573, almost a hundred thousand more than the Army requirement of 1,070,000 by July 1, 1947.

Friends Urged Not to Fear to Defy State

Our penological system "does violence, if not to the body, to the mind and spirit" of the men and women imprisoned, declared James Mullin after two years' experience as Secretary of the Prison Committee of the American Friends Service Committee. During that time he visited more than 500 conscientious objectors, many non-COs, and Jehovah's Witnesses in twenty-two federal prisons.

Present criminological practices, he said, are "predicated on the ancient concepts of making the punishment fit the crime rather than making care and treatment fit the needs and requirements of the human personality involved." These forces of retribution and punishment "manifest themselves on the international level in war, in peace treaties, and in trials of war criminals." People generally must come to the realization, he warned, that there is nothing creative in retribution nor in physical or psychological violence.

The Quakers were urged by Mullin "to deepen and enliven the peace testimony . . . one of the most distinguishing and precious attributes" of the Society of Friends. He reminded them that during World War II they had accepted the principle of conscription by "virtually administering and financing conscript camps." It became evident after the first two years of CPS that Selective Service dominated and controlled the program and that administering church groups would have no alternatives but "acquiescence, compromise, or complete withdrawal." He felt that the Friends had muddled through a bad situation remarkably well but that their administration of conscription had given it moral sanction; that the moral and spiritual casualties resulting from disillusionment and frustration have been great.

Only about fifty young Friends went to prison rather than recognize the moral authority of the state to conscript them. James Mullin saw their testimony as a significant guide in the rethinking and deepening of the Quaker peace testimony. "I am not advocating," he said, "that all eighteen-year olds should go to prison. Some will not have reached the point where they can make that decision. I am urging that Friends make a determined effort to grow out of and overcome what I have sensed during the last five years

as a fear, possibly an unconscious fear, of prison—a fear of defying the state. To me it seems unfortunate that modern Friends should become so respectable in a worldly sense that prison is generally considered beyond the pale."

Parole of COs Now Lagging

Available figures show that the paroling of conscientious objectors and Jehovah's Witnesses is not moving ahead as rapidly as discussions held with parole executives in December and January seemed to indicate. For the period of February 18 through March 1 of this year, the number of grants of parole to violators of the Selective Service Act not subject to military inductions by reason of age or dependency are:

COs over age	5
COs with dependents	1
Jehovah's Witnesses over age	33
Jehovah's Witnesses with dependents	13
Over age (neither COs nor JWs)	11
Dependency (neither COs nor JWs)	1

During the two weeks reported above, only sixty-four men were paroled. This number added to the 373 previously reported brings the total paroles granted up to March 1, 1946 to 437. The FOR executive committee has written to parole executives, and urges Fellowship members to ask James V. Bennett and Walter K. Urich to step up the process both in the interest of the men and families involved, and by reason of the significant contributions the COs can make in the public interest.

Segregation Defeated

Breaking down of the segregation pattern at the Federal Correctional Institution at Milan, Mich., for the first time in its history is the culmination of a two-year struggle.

In 1942 Charles Wellman, a conscientious objector, was deprived of privileges and later transferred to Chillicothe, Ohio, for refusing to accept the pattern. Since that time there has been a constant flow of letters, petitions and interviews with the warden and other prison officials. Many COs have made significant contributions to the on-going struggle.

Last December 4, five colored Jehovah's Witnesses asked to be moved into one of the two dormitories occupied by the rest of the JWs, and their request was granted. Since that time, segregation has been broken in another cell block and in the dining hall. On December 31 this interracial cell block offered a party with interracial talent, which was attended by men from all other living quarters, thus effectively proving that perfect harmony can exist where racial barriers are wiped out.

Nashville Work Camp

July 29 to August 24 are the dates announced by Constance Rumbough for the Southern FOR Work Camp this year. The camp will be held near Nashville, Tenn., with Olaf Anderson, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Richmond, Ky., and Martha Ward Anderson as directors. Twelve campers above the high school age can be accomodated, and the camp will be interracial in its own membership, staff and community in which it works.

Most of the necessary contacts will be made by the FOR, and Miss Rumbough says that they hope the campers will come from widely scattered areas of the United States.

Proceeding under the conviction that evil can be effectively conquered only by getting down to the roots of conflict and destroying them, the FOR has pioneered in conducting interracial camps in the South. During the camp period authorities on Southern problems will lead discussions in the group; campers will work at cleaning and repairing old buildings for community use; and the young people will have an opportunity to take their place as leaders in a community recreational program. Registrations should be made with Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Ave., Nashville 4, Tenn.

International FOR Meets in Stockholm

Addressing themselves to fellow-members throughout the world, the fifty-two delegates to the International FOR Council, representing some fifteen countries and meeting in Stockholm, Sweden, expressed thanks for the privilege of coming together after "many years of cruel sufferings, and in a world still battered and broken"; for the "marvelous reports of the witness and life of our Fellowship"; and for freedom "to renew old memories and dedicate ourselves to fresh tasks." They stressed the necessity of facing "with truth and realism the feebleness of our own efforts, the scale and difficulty of the work that awaits us, the shameful contrast between our professions and our practices," and they proclaimed the pacifist message as one of great timeliness in today's world situation.

The sense of unity was strengthened, the delegates felt, as representatives presented the reports of their national groups to the Council: Ellen Petersen from Denmark, Deryck Sivén from Finland, André Trocmé and Henri Roser from France, Jacques Harts from Belgium, F. Siegmund-Schultze on behalf of Germany and Austria, and Wilhelm Mensching directly from Germany. "We are a fellowship of reconciliation," the delegates to the IFOR meeting proclaimed to all members of the Fellowship. "As such we possess in our faith in God, the integrative truth which can reveal the answers to our problems, draw the bitterness from our divisions, and give release from our frustration and direction to our efforts."

Among other internationally known FOR members attending the Stockholm meetings were Muriel Lester, Canon Charles Raven, Philippe Vernier, G. H. C. Macgregor, G. J. Heering, Natanael Beskow, and John Nevin Sayre. Official representatives of this country were Ernest Lefever, Harold Chance and Norman J. Whitney.

CPC Asks More Effective Food Plan

The Consultative Peace Council, coordinating agency of twenty-four peace organizations, has appealed to the members of the various groups to increase their efforts to alleviate the sufferings of people in countries ravaged by starvation, disease and the destruction of war. Members and friends of the peace groups are particularly urged to keep up pressure on the President, Congress, and government agencies to institute a larger and more effective "set-aside" program for grain, fats, and other foods desperately needed by millions of people in Europe and Asia, to vote UNRRA appropriations, to allow an additional billion dollars for immediate relief, to adopt a large-scale program of loans to promote economic recovery in stricken countries.

The Council urges members of the peace organizations to practice strict voluntary rationing and to contribute the money thus saved to relief agencies, such as the Brethren Service Committee and the American Friends Service Committee. The latter has openings through which it can send $1,000,000 a month abroad if the money can be obtained. There is wheat in this country that can be purchased for relief if money is provided.

Forerunners Emphasize Program Materials

The unique contribution that can be made by Forerunners is in the work of supplying program materials to existing youth groups. That was the decision made recently by the Forerunners staff in consultation with its advisory committee of experienced youth workers.

Accordingly, future work of Forerunners will emphasize the production of such materials, presenting the pacifist point of view in attractive, readable style for use in already organized youth groups in churches, schools, and elsewhere. Organizing of Forerunners "chapters" and the recruiting of individual members will continue only where there is a distinct need for such work.

CORE Summer Project

The National Congress of Racial Equality is seeking volunteers for its interracial summer action project to be held in Chicago again this year. Aims of the project are: (1) to study America's minority problems in Chicago, and non-violent techniques for overcoming racism; (2) to practice interracial (and interfaith) fellowship in a group of like-minded people; (3) to give volunteers valuable experience in combatting race discrimination by engaging in action campaigns; and (4) to train leadership for local groups in non-violent direct action.

Young people who are interested in volunteering for the summer project should write to George M. Houser, Executive Secretary, 1850 East 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

Educational Aid to COs

At the request of camp directors of the Brethren, Mennonite, and Friends Service Committees, a Committee for Educational Aid to Conscientious Objectors has been set up with the object (1) to seek to raise funds to enable COs to continue their education, and (2) to service them in making contacts with colleges and in other ways. Headquarters of the new Committee have been established at 252 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y., with Wallace Hamilton, author of *Clash by Night,* as executive secretary.

A. J. Muste is temporary chairman of the Committee which is in the process of being organized. Among the twenty-one members now serving are: Roger N. Baldwin, Paul Limbert, Benjamin E. Mays, Alonzo F. Myers, Reinhold Niebuhr, Frank Olmstead, Harry A. Overstreet, Arthur Sheehan, Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Walter White and Harry N. Wright.

Parcels to Europe

The FOR Gift Parcels Campaign headquarters has been moved to Baltimore Peace Center, 328 North Charles St., Baltimore, Md., and is proceeding under the direction of Mrs. Emily Parker Simon. All *Fellowship* readers are asked to make note of this change of address in order to avoid delay and confusion in sending mail and in securing information. Peg Atkinson who was in charge of the Boston office is training for service as a relief worker for the AFSC and hopes to go to Germany.

Muriel Lester Tour

A recent letter from Muriel Lester tells of her travels through countries on the Continent and of meeting with members of the Fellowship for the first time since the war. In September Miss Lester plans to go to the Orient, visiting India, China and Japan, and returning to England via the United States.

Jottings

Spring weather in the United States has created an unwarranted and alarming drop in receipts of clothing for overseas shipment, according to Dr. Leslie B. Moss, Executive Director of the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction. Because of the lack of tools and building materials, Dr. Moss said, it has been impossible for European countries to get their industries going on a production basis. He urged people to use spring housecleaning days as a means of finding every stored garment which can be spared for the needy persons overseas.

* * *

On moral and humanitarian grounds, the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches has opposed the passage of a bill now before Congress, known as the Gossett Bill (HR 3663), which would cut in half all immigration quotas for a period of ten years. The World Alliance declared that there should not be any reduction in quotas for the United States when thousands of Europeans are unable to return to the countries of their origin.

* * *

The Outmate appeared as a new publication on April 1, 1946. It will go to all ex-prison COs to serve as an alumni organ with a threefold purpose: (1) to establish contact with men who have been in prison; (2) to encourage the men in specific fields; and (3) to exchange experiences in individual endeavors.

An appeal seeking the release of conscientious objectors still held in prison and a general amnesty for all men imprisoned during World War II because of conscientious convictions was sent to President Truman recently by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, acting for the Federal Council of Churches.

* * *

A unique demonstration took place at the Danbury Federal Correctional Institution on Lincoln's Birthday, when the prison was picketed in protest of President Truman's failure to grant a Christmas amnesty to war objectors and political prisoners. Some forty pickets walked up and down at the entrance, while inside the prisoners circled the jail yard carrying improvised signs. One group of pickets had a conference with the warden who expressed sympathy with the amnesty demand but claimed that he was powerless to act.

* * *

Peace News carried an article in a late March issue which indicated that the Dutch Government is having difficulties in its plan to send conscripted troops to Indonesia. Hundreds of young men, many of whom do not object to military service itself, are objecting to being used as an instrument to restore a system of oppression in Indonesia. The Dutch Constitution expressly forbids troops being sent overseas except with their own consent, according to the article in *Peace News,* and the Royal Decree setting aside this necessity is being contested in court.

Opportunities

A small group of pacifists, wishing to start a cooperative subsistence farm by the end of May, would like to correspond at once with any person having a 200-acre farm in the East for sale. The group can make a down payment of $2,000. Write Virginia Sallenbach, Soundview Av.,White Plains, N. Y.

A bookstore, located in a midwestern city and handling religious books and supplies, is seeking a manager. Applicants should have alert religious interests and broad tolerance for all faiths; an ex-CPS man is preferred. Beginning salary $90 to $150 monthly. Address applications to *Fellowship,* 2929 Broadway, New York 25.

An ex-CPS and prison CO, and his wife, wish to secure socially significant work. Qualifications include ten years in editorial work, office management, bookkeeping and typing: wife is a secretary and experienced in peace and social work. Address Charles D. Hornig, 1124 South Alvardo St., Los Angeles 6, Cal.

The Congress of Racial Equality needs a director for its summer action project to be held again this year in Chicago. Experience in handling groups and also in interracial action are primary qualifications. For information write to George M. Houser, 1850 East 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

A. J. Muste needs a secretary. To say that he would be pleased to hear from applicants, male or female, is putting it mildly. Devotion to the principles of religious pacifism and competence as stenographer and typist are the basic requirements.

John A. Leiser plans to start a school for boys from the seventh grade through high school, and wishes to communicate with persons who are interested either as students or as staff. Only persons who wish to seek the self-disciplined life and who would be deeply interested in building a school on this principle should apply. Write Mr. Leiser, Hillside School, Marlboro, Mass.

A fully qualified and experienced grade school teacher wishes to obtain a position in a public or private school where there will be an opportunity to do community or peace work. Answer in care of *Fellowship.*

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Society and the Criminal

Stone Walls and Men. By Robert M. Lindner. Odyssey Press, 1946. 496 pp. $4.00.

I think it was the fifth day after my arrival at Lewisburg Penitentiary that, with a dozen other new "fish," I was herded down to the prison hospital for my "initial" psychiatric interview. Lewisburg at the time was equipped with both a psychologist and a psychiatrist, who divided these interviews between them. By what I assume was the operation of the laws of chance, I was interviewed by the psychiatrist, Dr. Train.

Since my watch had been removed as contraband long since, my estimate of three minutes as the length of the interview may be inaccurate, and I am willing to concede an extra two minutes for the sake of argument. At any rate, the conversation was brief, and consisted principally of (1) Dr. Train's explanation that "you pacifists are a valuable element in our country in peacetime, but our national safety demands that you be put away during war," and my not-too-bright rejoinder that that was too bad for us pacifists; (2) Dr. Train's courteous comment that he was glad to meet me but wished that it might have been under happier circumstances, and my equally courteous and at least as mendacious reply that a three-year sentence was a cheap price to pay for the privilege of meeting him; and (3) Dr. Train's jest.

This last has been a cause for considerable speculation since I have become more aware of the nature of the men whom prison inmates perceptively call "bug doctors." On the surface it was a feeble joke, consisting entirely of the observation that he, Dr. Train, assessed the political appeal of a certain well-known Congresswoman then actively campaigning against President Roosevelt as being more to the pelvic than the cranial region of the male voter's anatomy. The joke was not original—I had heard it expressed more colorfully and with less labored elegance before—but I am too often guilty of perpetrating the humorless joke myself willingly to cast a pall of silence over such an earnest attempt to be funny, so I laughed with what heartiness I could muster, and the historic meeting shortly drew to a close. As I have become more familiar with the psychological approach to even the most innocent-sounding remark, I assume that the jest in question either was intended to disclose some sexual maladjustment in my personality, or else indicated certain frustrations and inhibitions in the psychiatrist himself.

At any rate, on the basis of this interview, which was the only direct contact I had with either man during my entire stay, a fairly lengthy critique appeared in due course among the prison records. This bit of deathless prose spoke rather well of my intelligence and insight, characterized my judgment as "superior in mundane matters" but not so good on the subject of the current war, and concluded somewhat arbitrarily that I was "rigid, immature, and egocentric." Subsequently, I had the opportunity to see the "admission summaries" of a number of the COs imprisoned in Lewisburg. With one exception they were tagged with the same "rigid, immature, and egocentric" label, the exception being diagnosed as having "schizoid tendencies."

In the light of this introduction, it will surprise no one to learn that I am not impressed by the psychological explanation of the phenomenon of conscientious objection included as a chapter in the latest book written by Dr. Train's colleague, Dr. Robert M. Lindner.

Dr. Lindner quite frankly considers religion to be an opiate. Hence he must find psychological motivations for those whom he classifies as religious objectors (as indeed he must for all seriously religious people). Conveniently then he disposes of such men as either born into their faith, as in the case of Mennonites and some Jehovah's Witnesses; or as finding in "small, unpopular sects" a sense of community with "other" lonely, frustrated, unhappy persons, as in the case of other Jehovah's Witnesses, followers of Father Divine, etc.

The prison experience of such objectors he dismisses casually as "more comfortable" than the deviation from the norm of their own groups that would be involved in going into the army. This easy dismissal does not take into account, of course, the fact that few of the imprisoned Mennonites and Witnesses faced such a choice: most were offered a 4-E classification that would have permitted them to go into CPS. The "ease" of the experience is further belied by the cases of two Witnesses of my own knowledge, whose imprisonment brought them to a state diagnosed by Dr. Lindner's department as "psychotic."

"Non-Religious" COs

But it is among other COs, who do not "draw upon any specific religious form as a rationalization" for their stand, that Dr. Lindner finds his real meat. Some of these, he admits, "resist service from the most noble of motives," though they "would willingly take up arms for causes in which they believe." These include the "true humanitarians," and are "characteristically free from psychoneurotics, psychopaths, criminaloids, or psychotics."

These admirable creatures, however, are plainly in the minority of the "non-religious" group. The rest are the aberrants of non-criminotic society. Their resistance to war is based upon such unhappy characteristics as latent homosexuality, unconscious sadism, masochism, and various forms of psychoneurosis, including the psychologists' trusted stand-by, the "unresolved Oedipus complex."

No one who knows the pacifist movement will deny that there are psychological deviants in the ranks of the conscientious objectors, but neither will he accept seriously the suggestion that such persons constitute a sizable proportion of the movement. Among those whose acquaintance with COs is limited, Dr. Lindner has done the pacifist movement a great and gratuitous disservice, and one that is not easily set right. To call a man a latent homosexual, or an unconscious sadist, and to explain away his noblest actions by such ignoble means, is to commit a form of libel that is most irresponsible. The victim, though the charge may be utterly false, is left with no reply except an unconvincing denial.

Before leaving this section, it ought to be noted that Dr. Lindner rebuts any accusation of cowardice on the part of COs. "It is the belief of this writer that very, very few Conscientious Objectors are cowards. Indeed, many of them are brave men."

Not the Important Part

Having said that much, it must be reported that this section on COs is a relatively unimportant and accidental part of the book—accidental because the COs happened to be in Lewisburg while Dr. Lindner was writing his manuscript. The bulk of the book is a valuable, perceptive, and highly readable study of the phenomenon of crime and society's monstrous and unworkable methods of dealing with it.

Dr. Lindner discusses the making of the criminal, with a careful analysis of the functions of what he terms the "predisposant" and the "precipitant" factors. For many, as for me, there will appear to be an overweighting of the Freudian approach—there is something almost ludicrous in explaining the mature bank robber in terms of an unhappy sexual experience at the age of eight months!—but even here the importance lies in the clear case made against society as the bearer of the greatest guilt. Moreover, the author emphasizes his own realization that in our exploitative economic system lies at once the chief predisposant and precipitant of criminosis.

But it is in his description of the penological approach to the criminal that Dr. Lindner renders his most valuable service. Writing from several years of experience in what has been described as America's most modern prison, he makes unmistakably clear what a brutal, sadistic, useless anachronism prison is, and how unsusceptible of any genuine reform.

For those who are interested in this aspect of our social structure, and who are concerned about the FOR's respon-

sibility in this field, this part is "must" reading. The picture is true as thousands of COs saw it, from the bitterly ironic description of the "classification" of incoming inmates, through an uninhibited discussion of "sex in prison," to a moving description of the effect of prison on a cultured, sensitive person (this last beautifully written by an inmate himself). For the truth behind the much-praised Federal penal system, I recommend *Stone Walls and Men* unhesitatingly. A.H.

World's End

The End of All Men. By C. F. Ramuz. Pantheon Press. 1944. 223 pp. $2.50.

There is hardly a word of commentary in this short prose poem about the end of the earth's existence, but it carries with impressive power a message that is uncomfortably relevant to our daily plight. C. F. Ramuz, who in Denis de Rougemont's introduction is called "the greatest Swiss writer today" contemplates from the vantage point of a little town on Lake Geneva—the "end of all men" as the earth is accidentally pulled back into the sun. The topic is familiar, but its treatment is unique, fairly breathing the desperate air of our day.

Ramuz has us witness the approaching end through the eyes of many men and women—the stockbroker, the anxious parent, the fisherman, the laborer, the aviator—each of whom has an increasing awareness of what is about to happen. These earthbound men react to the impending doom variously, but alike in their denial of meaning to the ultimate judgment. They foment futile rebellions, murder one another, fornicate, get drunk, vainly attempt flight, kill themselves. But they are all trapped, not by the cosmic catastrophe itself, but by the meaninglessness of their whole lives. For those who are faithful to life, who stick it out to the end, the tolling of the final bell proclaims that they have come not to extinction, but home.

For Ramuz, it would seem, as for every man who cares deeply about the meaning of his life, the "end" is *now*. That critical juncture of events, putting our character to the fiery test, passing judgment on our most valued deeds, is not in some far-off epoch, but latent in the present. Which means that we deceive ourselves if we bask in the sunny leisure of our allotted life-span; and conversely, we know ourselves most truly when we invoke now the scrutiny of the Eternal.

The book significantly is published under the imprint of *Pantheon,* the new publishing house which is forecasting something of a rebirth of European letters, with its publication of such important works as the poetry of Stefan George and of Charles Péguy, the complete Grimm, the letters of Felix Mendelssohn, and historical papers of Jakob Burckhardt, among others. Here we have a reminder that in the ruins of Europe deep springs of creative life are still accessible. STANLEY A. LEAVY.

The New Negro

Marching Blacks. By Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Dial Press, 1946. 218 pp. $2.50.

The "New Negro" is the subject of this recent book by Congressman Powell—the Negro who is militant in defense of the democratic rights of all people, and who has discovered the effectiveness of "non-violent direct social action." Pacifists may quarrel with the author's conception of non-violence, and see contradictions in his simultaneous commitment to non-violence and defense of communists, and yet realize the importance of this emphasis on "non-violent direct social action." There are important implications in such statements as: "The Negro . . . has lost only when he resorted to violence and won every time he fought with unity and non-violence" (p. 6) and "The way of the violent is hard, but the way of the non-violent, while still difficult, is sure" (p. 172).

The book makes quick and interesting reading. It has very little new information in it, and one misses a profundity in analysis. Its main importance lies in its advocacy of non-violent direct social action as a technique for the Negro masses to adopt.

GEORGE M. HOUSER.

Other Books Received

The New Leviathan, by Paul Hutchinson. Willett, Clark, 1946. pp. $2.00. A study of the growth of the modern, all-embracing, total state as a phenomenon of our time, and as a reality with which Christianity must cope. To be reviewed.

Now Is the Time to Prevent a Third World War, by Kirby Page. April, 1946. Paper cover, 128 pp., $1.00; cloth 300 pp., $2.50. An impressive work by the veteran peacemaker, including a comprehensive analysis of the causes of World War II, the dangers that threaten the present peace, and a program for lasting peace. To be reviewed.

The Light Is Still Shining in the Darkness, by Kirby Page. 1946. 124 pp. $.50 (paper). Thirty complete worship services prepared by Kirby Page for "youth groups, devotional meetings, and family prayers."

The Return to Japan. Friendship Press, 1946. 64 pp. Paper, $.25. In the fall of 1945 a deputation of four churchmen from the Federal Council, including one FOR member, visited Japan and tried to restore contact with Japanese Christians. This is the report of that visit, prepared by the members of the deputation.

And Another Thing, by Howard Spring. Harper, 1946. 265 pp. $2.50. The author of *My Son, My Son!* is at his writing best in this record of his search for spiritual truth. It is a thinking-aloud book, taking the reader into the author's confidence, sharing experiences and doubts and periods of exaltation and beauty. Pacifists will be moved by his admission that "war . . . will be banished . . . only by the slow and tedious growth of pacifist belief and practice in individual lives," but will be skeptical of the honesty of what follows: "I am not myself a good enough man to give my own adherence to the venture."

They Refuse to Be Criminals, by Edward C. M. Richards. 1946. 48 pp. $.25. The story of what parole and/or conditional release involve in the way of humiliating and irrelevant restrictions for imprisoned conscientious objectors, and why many of the COs refuse to accept either, choosing instead to serve out their full terms in prison. It is important for pacifists, and the public generally, to understand that such men are not simply recalcitrant extremists, but are acting on the highest level of conscientious conviction. This pamphlet helps greatly to clarify this situation.

The Tragedy of Empire, by Scott Nearing. Island Press, 1945. 168 pp. Paper, $1.50; cloth, $2.50. A discussion of the growth of empire in its various forms, including the American, and of its disastrous effects on world peace. The concluding section on "alternatives to empire" includes chapters on "The Soviet Alternative"; "The Decentralist Alternative"; and "World Federation —A Compromise Alternative."

One World or None, by the Federation of Atomic Scientists. Whittlesey House, 1946. Paper (large format), 80 pp. $1.00. The atomic scientists continue their campaign to arouse the public to the desperate crisis with which the atomic bomb has confronted civilization, and do it very effectively. Sections are included by Albert Einstein, Irving Langmuir, Walter Lippmann, J. R. Oppenheimer, Harold Urey, and other scientists and observers, with a concluding "Survival is at Stake" by the Federation of Atomic Scientists.

The Church and Returning Conscientious Objectors, by Roy A. Burkhart. Federal Council, 1946. 35 pp. Paper, $.10. A companion to the Federal Council's pamphlet on the church and the returning service man. Does a good job of acquainting ministers and other church workers with the nature of the CO and his wartime experiences, with advice for reintegrating the discharged or released CO into the local church.

Pro and Con

Corporations vs. Labor

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the March FELLOWSHIP, Passmore Elkinton claims that straight-time hourly wage rates rose 36.7% from 1941 to 1944, compared with a rise in the cost of living of about 30%, and claims likewise that average weekly earnings rose 72.8%. He also asserts that far from making hay, large companies have been "doing cheerfully during the war an immensely increased amount of work for *less* than their peacetime rates of profit."

The U. S. Dept. of Commerce, in its report on corporation profits, shows that *after taxes* in the prewar years 1936-39, profits amounted to $3,399,000,000, while during the war years corporations averaged $9,227,000,000 in clear profits annually. It would appear from this that Mr. Elkinton's assertion that unless prices are generally increased many businesses will be liquidated is unwarranted. The latter figure above does not include, of course, the billions of carry-back credits in taxes, or the recent reduction in corporate and income taxes. The same report estimates that in 1946 the net profit of corporations is likely to be around $10,200,000,000, the highest in history, and the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion estimates that "1946 profits after taxes *of manfuacturing corporations alone* will be over $6 billion, a figure higher than the wartime peak. This estimate *assumes an increase in wage rates* sufficient to maintain average hourly earnings in each manufacturing industry at the April 1945 level." (Italics mine).

Mr. Elkinton says that the cost of living has risen about 30%, whereas hourly wage rates rose 36.7% and average weekly earnings 72.8%, thus seeming to show that wages have outstripped the cost of living, and workers are sitting pretty. The President's Committee on the Cost of Living estimates that it has risen 33%, and this is considered in most quarters to be a conservative estimate. In any case, the Committee goes on to break down this average, and shows that food has risen 50%, and clothing 53%. This means that the cost of living of low-income families, who spend a large percentage of their wages on food and clothing, has increased considerably more than 33%. During the war the Little Steel Formula was used to prevent the rise of wages more than 15%. Granting that there were some ways of getting greater increases, and that take-home pay was increased by overtime work, the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion reports as follows: "When allowance is made for the increase in the cost of living and in personal income taxes during the war period, the value of the average worker's take-home pay in 1941 dollars increased from $26.64 to $31.47, or 18% [far less than even the 33% cost of living]. A money wage of $33.96 in 1946 represents 3% *less* purchasing power than a wage of $26.64 in 1941." Thus it can be seen that an increase in money wages does not mean that workers are any better off than they were before the war.

Post-war changes are now acting to take away the extra take-home pay (which as we have seen does not necessarily mean an increase in real wages). The average worker worked 48 hours during the war, receiving 40 hours of straight pay and 8 hours of time-and-a-half. Now that overtime is cut out almost entirely, workers are losing 30% of what they received during the war. Unemployment likewise means less income for many families, for since the war ended more than two million people have lost their jobs. Some have been employed again, but the lag in reconversion and holding back of products by manufacturers in the hope of lowered taxes and a rise in prices has made re-employment slow and has forced many to take jobs of a lower grade than they are trained for.

CONSTANCE MUSTE

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Like J. Passmore Elkinton, I approve of labor unions if wisely led (and deplore the fact that many are not), but does he think that very many business firms are wisely led? To me, most business firms are chiefly concerned with their profits, and few show signs of responsibility toward the worker or the consumer. We will have to put up with both the good and the bad in labor and business for some time to come.

WENDELL C. ALDRED

The Editor,
FELLOWSHIP:

. . . I was amazed that anyone in the pacifist movement could be so ignorant of the economic situation in which we live. His letter would make a good editorial for the *Wall Street Journal* . . . Your magazine is splendid. We enjoy it every month.

JOHN H. KELLER,
Chairman, Grievance Committee,
Lodge 200,
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

The Editor,
FELLOWSHIP:

Passmore Elkinton has done us a distinct service in pointing out the complete inefficiency of our present business system.

Objecting to George Houser's statement that labor has an "indisputable case" for wage increases, Mr. Elkinton points out another indisputable fact—that most companies simply cannot afford to pay these increases. He does not seriously question Houser's assertion (also indisputable) that workers, caught between a reduction in work hours and consequently in take-home pay, and a still-rising cost of living, are finding it increasingly difficult if not impossible to keep out of debt.

The workers, with the exception of the most highly skilled and paid, cannot eat. The companies, with the exception of the large monopoly concerns, cannot pay. Passmore Elkinton has given us a concise and indisputable picture of the utter ridiculousness of the highly-vaunted capitalist system.

J. H. MCCANDLESS.

From China

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

You can imagine that we need fellowship with you, after five years of complete separation from the religious thought of the world, especially that of those who believe as do the members of the Fellowship. Kindly let me know how matters are going in the pacifist world, and if you are publishing a magazine, put me on the mailing list. I shall try to pay for it in due time, though, as you will see if you look up my record of some years ago, I have been rather "poor pay." Much of the time I have been without remunerative employment, but, thanks to my splendid Chinese wife, we have gotten by.

R. P. MONTGOMERY,
Samkong, via Linhsien, Kwangtung, China.

Opportunity for Service

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am working in a Negro mental hospital where all the employees are white. They are mostly uneducated young people who have very little consideration for the patients because they are Negroes.

I was here a year ago as member of a Brethren Women's Volunteer Unit. I was convinced of the great need so I returned a few months after I left and it is possible another of the unit girls may return. People are dying here because of lack of care. Girls who want employment can be of real service to a despised and neglected people here. The salary is not good, but when one is interested in giving service, that doesn't matter too much. It would be wonderful to have some FOR girls. Our unit of four was 100 per cent FOR.

MARY LECKRON

Thanks to F.O.R.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I want to express to you our appreciation for the wonderful help the FOR has given us during these critical early months of our development as a permanent organization. We have received an excellent response from our mailing list appeals on the FOR mailing list. You might be interested in learning that Owen J. Roberts has agreed to be national Chairman of the Foundation. We are now preparing a Board of Directors. We anticipate that *Life* magazine will present the first story about conditions in mental institutions with *Readers Digest* following this up a month or two later.

LEONARD EDELSTEIN,
National Mental Health Foundation.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th St., Seattle 5, Wash.; *Northern California:* Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 3302 S. Grand Ave.. Los Angeles 7, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Eberhard, 440 E. 13th Ave.. Denver 3, Colo.; *Action Projects:* George Houser, 1850 E. 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio; *Middle Atlantic:* James E. Bristol, Room 900, 1831 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.; *Rural:* Leslie Simon, Peterboro, N. Y.

COMING UP!

There's a big issue of FELLOWSHIP coming up in June, and bigger and better ones in the months that follow. FELLOWSHIP'S program of post-war expansion is under way—an expansion that, we believe, will make FELLOWSHIP a magazine indispensable to every pacifist and to non-pacifist liberals as well. The June issue is a sample of what lies ahead:

Walter P. Reuther, dynamic, intelligent new president of United Auto Workers, represents labor's new approach to the vast problems of the post-war era. His article on "The Political Responsibility of Organized Labor" is the first of a series by the men who know labor best.

John Nevin Sayre, co-secretary of the FOR and co-chairman of the International FOR, has just returned from a three-months visit to twelve countries in Europe. The first of two articles about his experiences appears in June.

"Government by Falsehood" is the startling story of the way in which government and military spokesmen juggle facts and figures in order to get their way in Congress and with the people. By John Swomley and Alfred Hassler.

In CPS camps in various parts of the country a technique has grown up to combat "slave labor"—the slow-down. Here is a significant appraisal of its values and techniques by Herbert Wehrly (who has been in it)—**"Conscription Slows Down."**

Along with these come the usual pages of news; the new feature, *Subheads;* John Haynes Holmes' page; book reviews; and the always popular correspondence page.

Will You Help?

To do all that we hope to do with FELLOWSHIP will require more money. The best way to get that money—and, at the same time, to increase the effectiveness of the magazine—is to get new subscribers. A vital, up-to-the-minute magazine going to a large group of readers is one of the best means we have of spreading the message and meaning of pacifism. Here's how you can help make that possible:

1. **Get new subscribers for FELLOWSHIP.** You know people who ought to be getting this magazine: urge them to subscribe. If you can afford it, give subscriptions to ministers, teachers, labor leaders, libraries.

2. **Bring new members into the FOR.** There are many now open to the pacifist message as a result of the war's frustration and futility. This is the time to approach such persons with an invitation to join the FOR.

3. **Gather names of prospective readers or members.** Spend an evening this week making a list of such persons. Send names and addresses to FELLOWSHIP to be included in mailings from this office.

It Can't Be Done Unless You Help! Will You?

VERA BRITTAIN
NOW IN AMERICA

If you hear her speak, you'll want to read her best known books:

England's Hour
The moving story of the author's native land under the shadow of World War II. Macmillan. Cloth cover, 230 pp. $2.50.

Testament of Youth
The reader of this book lives through with Vera Brittain her intense emotional experiences of World War I and after. A true story. Macmillan. Cloth, 661 pp. $2.50.

Above All Nations
True stories of deeds of kindness done to enemies by men of all nations in World War II. Compiled by Vera Brittain, George Catlin, and Sheila Hodges. An anthology of kindness. Cloth, 88 pp. 75¢.

Humiliation with Honor
A message to every Christian concerned about the evils of war, this series of Vera Brittain's letters to her son is a declaration of faith in the "better way" of love. Two Fellowship editions: 108 pp. Cloth, $1.00. Paper, 60¢.

Account Rendered
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